

TWC DISCOURSES

ON

THE SUBJECT

OF

S L A V E R Y.

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DISCOURSE 1.

1 CORINTHIANS VII. 24:

Brethren, let every man, wherein he is called, therein abide with God.

As if the Apostle had said—In whatever profession or calling in life one is, when called to the Christian faith, let him continue in the same, fulfilling its duties, as in the sight of God. This general rule of conduct, in our context, the Apostle illustrates, as in the case of marriage, where one party was christian, and the other heathen, and also in the relation of servant and master. Art thou called being a servant, care not for it; but, in the spirit of the text, be careful to discharge the duties of your relation as a servant. The christian relation never interfered with the external arrangements of society. Let the form of government be as it might, and whatever were the ranks and orders of society, that custom had established, Christianity did not specifically interfere, nor correct. Its language is general,—“Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s and unto God the things that are God’s”—that is, fulfil the duties of the relations of life, you may chance to sustain. In

whatever condition you are, learn therewith to be content.

We are led from our text, to turn our thoughts upon the great subject of slavery, to which the public mind seems at present, anxiously excited. So various are the topics and bearings of this most distressing subject, it becomes extremely difficult to adopt a lucid method. Should the topics of our discussion be desultory, I hope the truth will be clear. Slavery may be defined—A condition in which one person without consent, is subjected to the will and authority of another ; and which the bond-mother transmits to her posterity.

That our discussion may come fairly before the mind, let us first see whether our definition of slavery and slave comport with the language of Scripture, the touch-stone of truth. The original words of most frequent recurrence in the New Testament translated servants, through the Old in the translation of the Seventy, evidently signify slaves. In the 25th Chapter of Leviticus, we read “The Sabbath of the Land shall be meat for you—for thy servant, and for thy maid, and for thy hired servant.” In the same chapter—“If thy brother be sold unto thee, thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bondservant, but as a hired servant.” “Of the heathen that are round about you, shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids, and they shall be your possession, and for your children after you ;—they shall be your bondmen forever.” These quotations might be carried farther, but these are abundant to show, that the original word rendered servant in the New Testament, means a bondman or a slave. And where it is used to signify a servant who

contracts for himself, the epithet of either free or hired, we shall find in the original, joined with it. That servant in the New Testament means a slave, is also evident, in several places where it occurs. Thus Paul to Timothy—Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honor. “Under the yoke,” that is, in bondage or slavery. To the Ephesians also, our Apostle, having stated the duty of servants, concludes for their encouragement,—Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. Bondage and slavery are synonymous, and so are bondman and slave and servant, and when the latter is to be understood in a different sense, the adjectives hired or free must qualify it.

Having ascertained the scriptural idea of the term servant, we shall, first, consider the subject generally. It seems intuitively obvious, that slavery is a violation of one of the natural rights of man, and connected with many and great evils. But notwithstanding this, we find it has prevailed in society, wherever the historic page, has recorded the deeds of men. This undoubtedly, while it forms one of its dark shades, the providence of God has permitted. Perhaps, because, though it opens a door to the worst of vices, it furnishes a field for the more perfect cultivation of those virtues, that are peculiarly christian. There is no relation, that so loudly calls for the christian virtues of humility, meekness, benevolence and fidelity, as that of slavery. These virtues are peculiarly necessary both to the master and servant and render their mutual intercourse happy and

honorable, and peculiarly pleasing to the Lord and Master of all. These were the virtues that shone so conspicuously in his household, which recommended Abraham to the highest blessing, that God ever conferred on man ; these were the virtues, so happily exemplified by Joseph while a bonds slave in Egypt, which gained him the friendship of God, and the highest honors of Pharaoh's royal court.

The first account of slavery recorded in holy writ is Noah's prophesy against the vicious posterity of his perverse son Ham. The purport of this prophetic denunciation is, that the posterity of Ham would become a degraded, servile race, and eventually fall under the domination of the descendants of his other sons, Shem and Japheth. This extraordinary prediction has been wonderfully verified. The posterity of Shem spread over Asia, while that of Japheth possessed Europe ; to whom Ham's posterity, the miserable Africans, have for immemorial ages, been in slavery, either as conquered nations, or as individuals transported to America, by the sons of avarice. It is stated by Abbe Raynal, that since the slave-trade commenced on the coast of Africa, nine millions of these unfortunate beings have been bought or stolen from that continent. And though the christian nations have at length combined to suppress this most cruel and awful traffic, yet, facts evince, that it is still, by desperate individuals, carried on to a great extent. No end it seems can be put to this horrid practice until the immense and exposed coast of that continent be peopled by colonized Christians ; or the millennial glory succeed, when every human being shall be christ-

ianized and the lust of men be superseded by benevolence and fear of God.

The Sovereign Governor of nations, thus far, has permitted slavery to exist. And his revealed word, as we can find, does not expressly prohibit it; but has given rules to regulate it, and to enforce the duties it involves. The laws of Moses provided, that, in all cases in Israel, where persons of their own nation were held in bondage from whatever cause, they were, on the seventh year, to go out free, unless by their own voluntary choice, they should prefer servitude to freedom. But the law was very different respecting slaves that were from the surrounding heathen nations. Here the law of tenure was exactly what has prevailed in the English code, and what now exists in the slave-holding states. Hence the presumption is almost a certainty, that the English law, and which our fathers adopted, was copied from the Mosaic—and hence too, doubtless, is the reason on which good men, in all the past ages of the christian world, have justified themselves in the holding of slaves. It is related of Abraham that he had three hundred and eighteen servants born in his house. Of Job it is said, that he had a very great household, probably more slaves than any master can number in modern times.

And in the next step, we cannot find, that Christianity made any special alteration in the tenure of slaves. The Apostles of our blessed Lord, in their epistles frequently recognize the subject of slavery, and particularize the specific duties of both masters and servants. But no where do we find any prohibition of this practice.

That we may see the Apostles' doctrine on this subject, I will quote one passage among several, that express similar sentiments. "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of heart as unto Christ. Not with eye-service as men pleasers : but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart : with good will doing service, as to the Lord and not to men ; knowing that whatever good thing a man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. And ye masters do the same thing unto them, forbearing threatening ; knowing that your master also is in heaven, neither is there respect of persons with him." Our Apostle also charged Titus, to exhort servants to be "obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things, not answering again, not purloining, but showing all good fidelity, that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Savior in all things." In all this we cannot find the most distant hint respecting the obliquity of the tenure of slavery, or of the unreasonableness of the relation of master and slave ; but the duties of both specifically inculcated. And, what is peculiarly observable, while he particularizes the mutual duties of this relation, he predicates their obligation upon their alike accountability to God—that the Divine Mind will notice the manner in which they fulfil these most difficult and arduous duties, and deal to them, at last, a just recompense of reward. Did we want any thing more to evince, that Christianity left this relation where it found it, regulated by Mosaic law, St Paul's short epistle to Philemon sheds a clear light on the subject. We see, in

the Apostle's view, Philemon was a most amiable and worthy Christian, but yet he was a slave-holder. That one of his slaves Onesimus having absconded, the Apostle meeting him in Rome, stated to him his duty, according to the blessed gospel. Our Apostle's preaching had its usual converting power, and the runaway slave became a sincere Christian. Under these circumstances what does the Apostle do? Does he tell Onesimus, that slavery is a monstrous violation of one of the unalienable and dearest rights of man; that now he was Christ's free man, and could not in justice be made a slave to any human being; that property in human flesh was, in the sight of God, the most horrid of all things—and from this exciting, disquieting lesson, announce his freedom? Nothing of this—Our Apostle knew too well the awful consequences that would arise from this course, in a country where slavery abounded. He directs Onesimus to return to his master, with undoubting confidence, that, instead of an unprofitable servant as formerly, he would become a most profitable and useful servant the remainder of his life. And he wrote this beautiful epistle to Philemon by the hand of his convert, with a request, that he would receive and forgive him, and though a servant, treat him as a brother in Christ. From the facts stated, it seems, there can be no doubt, notwithstanding the host of evils resulting from slavery, yet the all-wise Governor of individuals and nations, both by his providence and his word, hath permitted its existence among his human family. While God has permitted this relation, and inculcated those sublime

virtues to which it affords the occasion, the evils which have resulted from it, are the sins of masters and slaves, for which they have to render an awful account.

In the next place, to justify the ways of Providence, this is not so dark a case, as some others resulting from its dispensations. 1st—God hath constituted man a free and moral agent, and placed him on earth in a probationary school. The grand destination of this school is to train up subjects for heaven, by the practice of piety and virtue. This infinite object, which seems worthy of God, can as surely be gained where slavery exists, as where it does not. Indeed, as we have before suggested, it affords a wide opening both to master and servant for the full exercise of those virtues, that are peculiarly Christian. Where on earth, could a moral picture be filled with a richer array of human excellence, than the tenure of slavery is capable of exhibiting? Look at the richly cultivated plantation populated with as many intellectual beings, as the faithful Abraham possessed; and consider the master as king and priest of this numerous household. What a happy nursery for heaven this might be made! What a field for the worthy master is here opened for the exercise of benevolence and kindness, of justice and mercy, of humanity and pity, and especially for his religious and moral instruction, for his prayers, and the power and weight of his christian example! And who can exercise the exalted virtues of humility, meekness and contentment, of kindness and submission, of fidelity and honesty, and especially of piety, without cares to choke the word, more than the

servant of such a master? Here a degree of parental and filial love, it seems, must prevail, and unite their hearts in peace. But some may say, Do we ever see this? This is a poor objection. Divine dispensation having opened this field of piety and virtue for the master and servant, if evils arise all the sins lie at their own door, for which, they must hereafter render an awful account.

2dly—Still farther light may be thrown upon this dispensation, when we consider that Christianity was designed, by its Divine Author, for a universal spread, among all nations of the earth, and to supersede all other religions. Hence it designedly avoids interfering and directing in the arrangements and ranks of society, as this would lead to party feelings and jealousies, and prove a mighty hindrance to its progress. Its object is, wherever it spreads to meet society as it finds it; not to dictate authoritatively its peculiar external police; but addresses itself to the hearts of men, assured, that in proportion as the heart becomes christian and the public opinion formed on christian principles, the external arrangements of the social state will meliorate, and every galling yoke be broken.

Here then we see placed in a strong light, the duty of all who feel a tender compassion for those who are held in bondage. Their zeal for God and suffering humanity, and all their means should be exerted in spreading the blessed gospel, and strengthening its influence on the minds and hearts of men. As this advances, all the wrongs and oppressions in society will be gradually

corrected. In this immense work, increasing in knowledge will do much, precept, preaching and prayer, more, and example most of all. For the instruction and direction of all on this subject, I conceive the example of the great Apostle of the Gentiles is full and adequate. Upon masters he inculcated justice and mercy, and always reminded them of their master in heaven, to whom they were accountable for all their dealings and intercourse with their servants. Upon servants he inculcated fidelity, obedience and contentment, reminding them, that he, who was faithful to his master, in obedience to God, should receive a high reward in heaven, where the christian master and servant should meet in glory. And never did he drop a most distant word, calculated to sow discontent among the servants—not a word bearing on emancipation, or their hard and unsufferable lot. This he knew, instead of benefiting the slave, would be attended with much evil, causing uneasiness in his situation, and a heavier yoke.

Do you mean, says query, by all this to justify and support slavery? While I consider slavery among the many wrongs in society, and with a thrilling joy look forward to the time when the universal reign of Zion's king shall break every yoke, I desire in this great question, to take the ground, as we have seen that Christ and his Apostles took. I would be extremely cautious how I touch this most difficult and delicate relation, lest the gospel be hindered, and evils more horrid than slavery result. I would leave this heavy and painful bur-

den to be managed solely by those who bear it. I would do what I could to extend the meliorating, consoling power of the blessed gospel, and, in the mean time, imploring the grace of God both upon the master and slave. Amen.

DISCOURSE II.

1 CORINTHIANS VII. 24.

Brethren, let every man, wherein he is called, therein abide with God.

I was, in the morning, led, from this text, to treat of the subject of slavery in general. From the general view, I come now to consider it as existing in our own country. One half the States in our Federal Union are slave-holding States ; in which more than two millions of colored people are held in bondage. All, or nearly all, are ready to say, this ought not so to be. Some comfort themselves with the consideration, that the condition of slavery is meliorating as the spirit of Christ is exerting a greater influence in the hearts of men ; and with the hope, that it will eventually rule the public opinion, and correct not only slavery but all the wrongs of society, with deep and anxious feeling for the sufferings of their fellow-men, pray, ardently pray—"Lord, may thy kingdom come."—These consoling views and hopes are cherished by well-known facts. Looking back to the auspicious day, when the Governor of nations crowned our arms, with independence, honor and

peace, slavery prevailed through all the States. Self-moved, not from the interferences, remonstrances or threats of sister States, but from their own sense of justice and wise policy, half of the States have manumitted their slaves. This has been a noble work, highly honorable to the memory of our fathers. This speaks to our sisters, not in the language of meddling or menace, but in the silent whisper of example. This, doubtless, has exerted, and still is exerting a healthful influence. From this and many other causes secretly and gradually operating, the condition of southern slaves has been vastly improved in latter years. My personal observation evinces to me this heart-consoling fact. Comparing what I saw of slavery when residing in the south in 1790, and what in the past winter, presents a delightful contrast, and cherishes strong anticipations for future farther improvements in this most anxious relation. However individual cases may be storied through the country of unsufferable cruelty, probably exaggerated, it is a well known fact, that public opinion in the south, now sets strongly against the hard and cruel usage of slaves. Generally their tasks are easy. They are free from anxious cares, knowing that their masters must care for them. Compared with the poor, whom we always must have with us, the slaves under a good master, which now is a highly honorable trait in the character of a planter, in point of real comfort, are equal, if not above them. True they are deprived of the sweets of liberty ; but this privation sits easy, having never known the reverse, only when excited by for-

eign influence. These facts, combined with the great movements of society in general, give a degree of quiet and hope to the most of us. Others have a warmer zeal on this subject, and associate in order to strengthen their hands. In one of his addresses, said one,—“Nearly three hundred Anti-slavery Societies have been formed, based upon the fundamental principle, that holding human beings as property is a tremendous sin, and ought to be immediately repented of, and forsaken ;” or, in other words, the holding of slaves is an enormous sin, and therefore an immediate and universal emancipation ought to be effected. What degree of moral guilt one contracts by the simple tenure of slavery, I shall not take upon me to estimate—but will venture to say, as shown in my morning discourse, that the main sin is not in the relation itself, but in violating the mutual duties it involves. So arduous are these duties, especially on the part of the master, and so strong on both sides, its temptation to wrong, that slavery, to be sure, is an evil to be deeply lamented. But the consequence, upon correct political and moral principles, does not follow, therefore it ought to be instantly abandoned. This is but one case among many, where duty calls to deliberate and decide between alternate evils. Though slavery might be so conducted as to be a happy state of society, yet as it actually exists, is, in some instances, a great evil ; yet reason requires, that we compare with this evil, the whole bearing of immediate emancipation, and see if from this, much greater evils would not be the unavoidable result.

This opens the field of our present discussion. Casting my eye upon this portentous cloud, suggests the lines of the celebrated Roman Poet—

Non, mihi si linguæ centum sint, oraque centum,
 Ferrea vox, omnes scelerum, comprehendere formas—possim.

i. e. Had I an hundred tongues, and a hundred mouths, and iron lungs ; I could not comprehend all the forms of evils, in which immediate emancipation is involved. In the first place, I am constrained to observe, that it is indecorous, and a violation of civil and wholesome order, for one State, or any number of States to interfere, or dictate respecting the internal police of another, except in cases where the Federal Constitution is impugned. Each state in the Union is sovereign and independent, except where it has surrendered specific prerogatives to the general government. Hence each State is perfectly competent, and possessed of exclusive right to make her own laws, and to regulate all her internal concerns in her own way. So obvious is this, and so rational, that every interference here must be viewed with a jealous and indignant eye. How soon is a neighborhood thrown into contention, and the bad passions excited, where one family takes it upon them to interfere and dictate to another ? A greater part of the contentions in the world, result from interfering with each other's rights. South Carolina has the same right to exclaim against Massachusetts for her factory establishments, as the latter has to exclaim against the former for the slave establishments ; i. e. no right. In

such an unworthy interference, she might declaim upon the existing topics of liberty and equality ; and represent these institutions as tending to exalt one part of the community and to depress and enslave the other ; as nurseries of ignorance, and vice, riots and mobs, inconsistent with free election, and a republican government. Thus she might raise a general hue and cry against these establishments, to the great annoyance of the masters of factories. Would not indignant feelings repel these invidious statements?—Would she (Massachusetts) not say, these institutions have grown up under the chartered rights of her own independent government, which no State has the most distant right to touch. Let the voice of justice and of the golden rule be heard then, and shut the lips of the north upon the subject of slavery.

2dly. Interfering with the slave-holding States, is violating, or an attempt to violate, the great law of justice, the law of property. Their property mainly consists in the persons of their slaves. Their laws justify and secure this property to the slave-holders. Confiding in their respective constitutions, and that of the general government, they vest their principal means in this property. Without this stock their lands are of little value. But by slave labor, they, the slaves, draw from the plantation their own living, and produce those great staples of cotton and rice, for foreign markets. Now an arbitrary act of immediate emancipation, with one violent arrest, robs thousands of their wealth, and reduces the planter to poverty and the slaves to starva-

tion. The British parliament saw and felt this, and, hence, in their act of emancipation, voted the vast sum of twenty millions sterling, to remunerate the masters for their property, and to save their colonies from poverty, starvation, and the reign of terror. In the immediate abolition contended for among us, who is to pay the planter for his slaves? Not the slave-holding States, to be sure ; as this would be only shifting money from the right hand into the left. Are the northern States ready to tax themselves to remunerate the planter for the property, they would wrench from him? When this, which justice claims, is done, then, and not till then, will I lift up my voice for immediate emancipation.

3dly. The measure contended for, is an obvious infraction of the Constitution of the United States—the glorious guarantee of the honor and prosperity of our beloved country. That the Constitution of the United States supports slavery, none, I think, can doubt. In estimating the number of representatives for each State, the rule is, to add to the census of free inhabitants—Three fifths of the number of slaves. Had they been free, their whole number would have been added to the census. It is obvious then, the constitution predicates the deduction of two fifths upon their condition, as slaves. The celebrated jurist, Judge Jay, on this article observes, that the Constitution regards the slaves as inhabitants, but as debased by servitude below the equal level of free inhabitants, and hence as divested of two fifths of the man. In another article the con-

stitution provides, in case a slave runs from his master into a free state, that he shall, if redemanded, be delivered up to his master. Here slavery is literally supported by the constitution. Whenever the runaway steps upon the territory of a non-slave-holding State, he is, by its laws, a free man. But the constitution sends him back to his master, and places him under the yoke, from which the free State had released him. Other considerations might be adduced, but I conceive these are sufficient to convince every mind, that Slavery is supported by the Constitution of the United States. Now compare with this the professed object of abolition societies—immediate and total emancipation. If this is not presenting a bold front of direct opposition to the constitution, I see not what form of words can. Suppose them to effect their object, by an act of sovereign power, would not the slave-holding States say, and say justly, to her sister States, by this act of violence, the constitution, our ark of safety, is broken and abolished, and our union crumbled to a rope of sand? And, in a moral view, where is the difference, between effecting this object by one sovereign act, or attempting it by a gradual process expressly commenced and prosecuted for this very purpose? But it is responded, all violence, in this great work, is literally disclaimed—i. e. we mean to nullify this part of the constitution; on this we are determined, while our present feelings revolt at violent measures. Would not every citizen, who should revolt from and against the constitution of his country, commence his operations by similar softening terms?

Having considered the immediate bearings of this tremendous project, I come to look at some of its consequences. The first, that presents itself, is the sundering of the federal bond, dividing the north and south into separate nations, and the necessary appendages of this. It is too well-known, there have long existed unhappy prejudices and conflicting interests between the northern and southern States, which have often led the patriotic heart to tremble for our Palladium, the bond of Union. It survived the tariff, but with debilitating wounds not yet completely cicatrized. Should abolition zeal prevail, and present a threatening aspect upon the tenure of slavery, union will become an empty name. The word will be, the yankees, not satisfied with robbing us of our money, are determined to rob us of our slaves. This, be assured, will brace to the highest excitement the southern nerve, and let loose the dogs of war, a war that will cause a warmer and more copious gush of blood than British arms. And suffer not ourselves here to be deceived with the quieting suggestion, that the south feel too well their dependence on the general Government for security against the physical strength of their slaves, for such a rupture. I venture to say, that the Northern States are as dependent on the Southern, as the Southern on the Northern. Their vast staples of cotton and rice, and the immense demand of their market would soon procure them security under the hovering wing of their ancient zealous mother. Let these vast sources of wealth to the north, be turned into the British channel, and then where are

we?—a solemn stillness would reign through our thousand factories, and our sprightly villages, supported by the southern market, would languish and crumble down. Beside the awful sacrifices, the never failing price of revolution, the anxious patriot cannot suppress the anticipation of the ceaseless troubles resulting from the contiguity of separate nations. The history of Europe and of ancient Israel abundantly evince, that jealousies, interferences, and eternal wars will disturb and devastate adjoining States. What then must result from the calculating North, and chivalric South, exasperated with mutual devastations, never to be forgotten.

Neither can our forebodings rest here. The world is looking upon us, to learn the practicability of a Federal Republic. Should these United States fail in the momentous experiment, it would convert the trembling crowns of Europe into brazen helmets, to brighten with increasing terror, through many future suffering generations.

Another awful group of evils must result from an immediate and total emancipation—I mean, the unyoking of two and a half millions of ignorant, improvident, unprincipled human beings to grope their own way in society, and provide for themselves. This, with one fatal stroke, wrests the means from the hands of their masters, and converts the slaves into hosts of mendicants and plunderers. Ancient mythology represents Jupiter as giving a box to Pandora, to hand to her husband, which he rashly opening, all kinds of evils and mischiefs flew out, and filled the earth with diseases,

and all other calamities. Immediate emancipation obviously would be opening Pandora's box, with an awful vengeance. To describe these evils would present a picture too disgusting, loathsome, heart-sickening and horrid even for depraved sight; hence I must leave them untold.

Another evil resulting from abolition societies is, doing a vast injury to the slaves themselves. It carries among them the distressing feelings of discontentment under their lot, and increased reluctance to their tasks; It excites them to secret conspiracies, and strengthens their hopes and their hands. Call to mind the death conspiracies within your own memory, of whole families massacred and bleeding under the murderous hands of unfeeling, revengeful slaves; and then see these poor creatures expiating their crimes by the most excruciating sufferings and death. Would you see these scenes acted over again upon a more extensive theatre—then continue to inflame the abolition zeal, multiply its societies, send into the peaceful plantation the incendiary preachers; and disseminate the exciting tracts, and not far distant time will fatten the fields of our southern brethren with the promiscuous blood of masters and slaves. And while you complain of their laws for their severity, and especially for depriving the colored population of the means of learning, it ought to be called to mind, that it is a well known fact, these laws are, in part, designed to counteract those disquieting excitements of foreign meddlers.

Another weighty reason against immediate emancipation is, that it will place the colored population at a still greater remove from the blessed influences of the gospel. It has been repeatedly stated by the best authority, that the most depraved and degraded population of the slave States is the free blacks. This may be readily accounted for. Being generally disposed to seek an intercourse with the whites, but repelled from the more improved, they, of course, mingle with the most depraved of the white population. This moral sink would become the receptacle of the emancipated millions ; a position not to be reached by any address short of divine power. Vastly preferable is their present situation, for hearing and receiving religious instruction. Collected in separated plantations in sufficient numbers for profitable instruction, they present an inviting position for missionary labor. In this capacious field the Methodist missionaries have already begun their arduous labors. To this heavenly work the planters now invite and urge them ; realizing the fact, that their slaves become more valuable in proportion to their improvements in pure Christianity. These missionaries, in the wise apostolic practice, shunning every allusion to manumission, insist upon the great doctrines and duties of our holy religion.

Another unhappy bearing of immediate abolition is, its counteracting the important work of colonization. Colonization, under Providence, has been the great means of carrying the blessings of civilization and the gospel into distant and barbarous nations. From Abram

the father of the faithful, to the honorable and long to be remembered Mr Ashmun of our own times, adventurous and persevering colonists have been the pioneers of the blessed Gospel. The colonization system planted the religion of the blessed Emanuel, in this western world. By this, that wonderful little Island, the natal soil of our fathers, hath disseminated the words of eternal life upon almost every coast. This worthy spirit, among other objects, devised the vast project of transplanting the colored population of our country to the African shores. Many considerations seem to recommend and urge this great work. Nature, or rather, nature's God, hath constituted such prominent characteristics of distinction between the whites and the blacks, as to show that it was his will, that they should inhabit separate portions of the globe. This intimation seems to be corroborated by a kind of instinctive repellent.

Africa is the natal soil of their fathers, and hence, their natural home. There a similarity of color, figure and nature render their intercourse congenial, and open to them all the blessings of the social state. A farther indication of the divine will is, that the location of that quarter of the globe, it being principally in the torrid zone, is peculiarly congenial to the constitution of the blacks. While the chills of the North unman them, the meridian sun of the South gives them health and energy. This happy adaptation is a strong indication of His will, who has, in perfect wisdom and goodness, arranged and adjusted all parts of nature. Beside

all this, colonizing the coast of Africa, with her natural sons, anticipates glorious results—when the most horrid traffic, that ever disgraced the human character, shall be totally abolished, and the civilizing arts, and the happifying religion of Christ shall spread from the Cape of Good Hope to the unknown sources of the Niger. From considerations like these, many worthy minds have associated to establish a colony of free blacks at Liberia. A good providence seems to have blessed this herculean enterprise. And would every white inhabitant in the Union unite their strength in this glorious cause, so natural, so just ; it would seem, that a gradual emancipation might be effected, and the different colors be placed in the climes for which God designed them. Especially ought the Northern States to unite with full hearts and hands in this labor of love, as a kind and just return and expiation for the errors of goneby times, when, it is well-known, that it was principally their floating dungeons, that transported the fathers and mothers of the suffering Africans to these western shores, and bartered them for gold. ‘*Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, auri sacra fames.*’

Such a glorious desideratum, reason would think, must unite all hearts—But to the astonishment of many good minds amid this work of benevolence, a root of bitterness is sprung up!! Reason remonstrates, in the close of our discussion, patriotism entreats, and humanity agonizes—Stop, consider. Study Moses, Christ and his apostles—Ponder on the blessed gospel and Divine Providence. Study the constitution of our common

country, and the separate, independent families that compose it. Consider, by all that is dear to us as citizens, we entreat you, to consider, the vast, the immense importance and value of our Union. This is what has given us national respectability and glory abroad and prosperity at home.^o This is our palladium, our ark. Break this and all will be lost. Civil war and a belligerent temper, the most awful calamity that ever scourged a nation, must be the result. Our flourishing fields must be converted into an arena of blood and slaughter, and we shall find no resting place. I do not say that immediate abolition designs this—but I must say, its measures have a direct, strong and awful bearing upon it.